especially in the area of small business, in situations where the cost exceeds what we are able to collect, be able to manage the problems that large businesses have, that nonprofits and individuals have, in a much different way than we currently see.

Next, with that authority, and especially with an oversight board that is independent from the executive branch, and hopefully a restructured congressional oversight-and, remarkably, some have actually proposed that we strike the consolidation of the oversight in the Congress. We had hearings in the Restructuring Commission with Congressman PORTMAN, a Republican from Ohio, and I for over a year, and almost every witness said problem No. 1 is Congress. Remember, the IRS is not Sears & Roebuck. This is not a private-sector organization. They have 535 members of their board—the Congress. There are six committees that have oversight responsibility over the IRS, and what we were told repeatedly, both with anecdotes and with data, was that they need to consolidate the oversight so the Commissioner, with a new independent board, can meet and achieve consensus on what the vision and the purpose of the IRS is going to be. Why? For a variety of reasons, Mr. President. One is making certain that funding is going to be constant, but, more importantly, to make certain that the investment in technology is done right.

This whole effort started a couple of years ago. Senator SHELBY and I, in oversight hearings on the Appropriations Committee, noted with considerable concern that almost \$4 billion of taxpayer money had been wasted in a thing called "tax system modernization," trying to get the computers to operate, to talk to one another so the stovepipes would not prevent the con-

versations back and forth.

Tax systems modernization, Mr. President, is very difficult to do, unless you have a shared consensus between the executive and legislative branches, with consolidated oversight on the congressional side and with an independent board that is able to act on behalf of the taxpayers. In that kind of environment, it is much more likely that technology investments will be made

Most importantly, I hope the majority leader will instruct the Finance Committee chairman, let's get a meeting next week with Mr. ARCHER, Mr. RANGEL, Senator MOYNIHAN, and Mr. Rubin, and whatever we pass in the Senate committee, let's do it in a fashion that enables us to meet this April

15 deadline.

Mr. President, there are important things in this legislation. I have behind me a chart which I call the IRS Reform Index. I will mention some of the things that are on that chart. The date the IRS reform legislation passed the House with 426 votes to 4 was November 5, 1997. The date by which the Senate Republican leadership promised to bring the IRS reform to the floor is

March 30, 1998. I think the majority leader understood why it needed to be done then-because we need to set a deadline of April 15 to complete our work, and I very much appreciate that that in fact is what is possible for us.

Still, if we expedite the process, rather than putting something out of committee that has no chance of being conferenced and perhaps won't be signed by the President as well-again, one of the worst mistakes here is making the perfect the enemy of the good. Since November 5 to March 30, over 17 million Americans have received a collection notice. That is a huge number of people who have received a collection notice without the power of the law that has passed the House, as well as some significant new powers the chairman wants to provide. That legislation would pass 100-0 if we brought it up quickly, 34 million Americans called the IRS since November 5, nearly 17 million did not get through and of those who did, over 1 million received wrong answers. We have 40 cosponsors in the Senate, and 14 of the Finance Committee's 20 members are cosponsors of the bill. All this is to say that, if we want to pass good, strong legislation and meet the April 15 deadline, there is absolutely no legislative reason for us not to.

I am hopeful that sometime early next week the majority leader will talk with the Finance Committee chair and say meet with Mr. RANGEL, meet with Mr. ARCHER, meet with Mr. MOYNIHAN and Mr. Rubin; let's have a joint meeting so whatever we pass out of the Finance Committee we can pass here on the floor of the Senate, conference it quickly with the House, get it on to the President for signature, meet the April 15 deadline that 120 million American taxpayers have imposed upon them under current law.

I thank my colleagues and I yield the

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Gor-TON). Without objection, it is so ordered

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREE-CONCURRENT MENT-SENATE **RESOLUTION 86**

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when we complete our business today there be 44 hours remaining for debate on the budget resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without

objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I further ask that when the Senate completes its business on Monday, March 30, there be 34 hours remaining on the budget resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR FIS-CAL YEARS 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, AND 2003

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of Calendar Order No. 330, the fiscal year 1999 concurrent resolution on the budg-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 86) setting forth the Congress budget for the U.S. Government for fiscal years 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and revising the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1998.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the presence and use of small electronic calculators be permitted on the floor of the Senate during consideration of the 1999 concurrent resolution on the budget.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent that staff of the Senate Budget Committee, including congressional fellows and detailees named on the list that I send to the desk, be permitted to remain on the Senate floor during consideration of S. Con. Res. 86 and that the list be printed in the RECORD. Mr. President, the list is for both majority and minority.

I send the list to the desk at this

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The list follows:

MAJORITY STAFF

Victor Block, Amy Call, Jim Capretta, Lisa Cieplak, Allen R. Cutler, Kay Davies, Larry Dye, Beth Felder, Alice Grant, Jim Hearn, Bill Hoagland, Carole McGuire, Anne Miller, Mieko Nakabayashi, Maureen O'Neill, Brian Riley, Mike Ruffner, Amy Smith, Austin Smythe, Bob Stevenson, Donald Marc Sumerlin, Winslow Wheeler, Sandra Wiseman, Gary K. Ziehe.

MINORITY STAFF

Amy Peck Abraham, Phil Karsting, Daniel Katz, Bruce King, Jim Klumpner, Lisa Konwinski, Diana (Javits) Meredith, Martin S. Morris, Sue Nelson, Jon Rosenwasser, Scott Slesinger, Barry Paul Seltman, Strumpf, Mitchell S. Warren.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full floor access and privileges of the floor be granted to Austin Smythe and Anne Miller on S. Con. Res. 86.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, fellow Senators—Senator LAUTENBERG

present on the floor—we have just agreed that we will relinquish 6 hours of the debate time of the 50 hours that we are allotted under statute. I personally do not intend today to make an opening statement explaining this budget. I will do that Monday evening when I arrive back from a funeral in New Mexico for Representative Steve Schiff. Anybody who would like to come down and speak is welcome. I now yield the floor to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sen-

ator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I thank the chairman of the Budget Committee for initiating some movement now. We want to try to get this budget done. We do not, however, want to deprive any of our Members, be they Republican or be they Democrat, from the opportunity of offering amendments in accordance with the procedure as we know it, with the time consumed, again, according to the structure for budget resolution consideration. But I want to make sure for those Members who want to start the process that we give them the courtesy of using time in accordance with their need and that we don't deliberately invade the response time because we want to consume time to be able to get the process really under-

First of all, I ask whether or not we can start the debate on Monday somewhat later—if we are here late, we will be here late; we are willing do that—whether we can start perhaps at 1 o'clock or 12 o'clock? We are going to consume 10 hours on Monday. I ask the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee whether that is a problem.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, let me respond in this way. Normally what time we start Monday would be up to the distinguished Republican leader. I strongly recommend and concur with the Senator that there is no real need to start early. They are going to have plenty of time. I concur with my colleague and want to make sure everybody knows, we are not going to cut off any debate as far as debate on this resolution. As a matter of fact, what is going to happen is unless we fix the process up a little bit, we are still going to have, at the end, 10 or 15 or 20 amendments. I would like to find a way to alleviate that.

But in the meantime, it seems to me, it would be better to start sometime after lunch. We will have somebody here representing me. I think the Senate knows I cannot be here until sometime shortly after 5. The distinguished Senator from New Jersey is not going to be available in the morning either, is he?

Mr. LAUTENBERG. That is true, Mr. President. And we have a designee, a member of the Budget Committee, who will represent us to make the process available, make the resolution available for laying down amendments. There is not going to be any problem with that.

Mr. DOMENICI. I would ask the majority leader, and will do that immediately upon our completing here, that we not be back on this resolution before 1 o'clock on Monday. I cannot agree to that at this point, but I will ask and I think it will be agreed to.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I appreciate that. At the same time, just to make sure that we have the appropriate, usually competent staff that we always have working with us when we do our committee work, I ask unanimous consent that Sue Nelson and Amy Abraham, who are analysts with the Budget Committee, be given full floor privileges for the duration of all debate on the budget resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 2165

(Purpose: To establish a deficit-neutral reserve fund to reduce class size by hiring 100,000 teachers)

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Washington [Mrs. Mur-RAY] proposes an amendment numbered 2165.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . DEFICIT-NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND FOR CLASS SIZE REDUCTION.

- (a) IN GENERAL.—In the Senate, revenue and spending aggregates and other appropriate budgetary levels and limits may be adjusted and allocations may be revised for legislation to reduce class size for students, especially in the early grades, provided that, to the extent that this concurrent resolution on the budget does not include the costs of that legislation, the enactment of that legislation will not increase (by virtue of either contemporaneous or previously-passed deficit reduction) the deficit in this resolution for—
 - (1) fiscal year 1999;
- (2) the period of fiscal years 1999 through 003: or
- (3) the period of fiscal years 2004 through 2009
- (b) REVISED ALLOCATIONS.—
- (1) ADJUSTMENTS FOR LEGISLATION.—Upon the consideration of legislation pursuant to subsection (a), the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may file with the Senate appropriately-revised allocations under section 302(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 and revised functional levels and aggregates to carry out this section. These revised allocations, functional

levels, and aggregates shall be considered for the purposes of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 as allocations, functional levels, and aggregates contained in this resolution.

(2) ADJUSTMENTS FOR AMENDMENTS.—If the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate submits an adjustment under this section for legislation in furtherance of the purpose described in subsection (a), upon the offering of an amendment to that legislation that would necessitate such submission, the Chairman shall submit to the Senate appropriately-revised allocations under section 302(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 and revised functional levels and aggregates to carry out this section. These revised allocations, functional levels, and aggregates shall be considered for the purposes of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 as allocations, functional levels, and aggregates contained in this resolution.

(c) REPORTING REVISED ALLOCATIONS.—The appropriate committees shall report appropriately-revised allocations pursuant to section 302(b) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to carry out this section.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, the amendment that we have sent to the desk has to do with education and class size. I ask this amendment be laid aside and have debate at a time to be determined by the ranking member.

Mr. DOMENICI. Let me just state, it has been our precedent around here that we do not have amendments for the first 4 hours we invite general discussion. But we are going to count 6 hours against the bill, and I think it is only fair, under those circumstances, rather than make her wait for 4 hours, that she be allowed to introduce this amendment now.

I want it understood that we have not agreed as to the timing of this amendment in that it has usually been a Republican has an amendment, then a Democrat. This sequencing or chronology of her amendment, the amendment of the distinguished Senator, will be up to the Senator from New Jersey as it pertains to Democratic amendments. Is that acceptable, Senator?

Mrs. MURRAY. That is fine.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I thank the chairman of the Budget Committee for conceding this opportunity for Senator MURRAY. I do not know whether the Senator from New Mexico has any further business. We have nothing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As modified, the unanimous consent agreement with respect to the Murray amendment is agreed to.

Mr. DOMENICI. We have nothing further, no further discussion, and we have under the unanimous consent agreement how much time is taken off the bill.

Mr. President, I assume until the leadership decides otherwise, we will be in open session in quorum calls or other business. But if Senators want to speak to the budget resolution, I assume for a significant amount of time the floor is going to be open for them to do that. I have already indicated that I cannot stay here and manage under these circumstances, but I assume that, with the Parliamentarian, things will run pursuant to the unanimous consent agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will run pursuant to the unanimous consent agreement.

Mr. DOMENICI. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to such time as I might use from the Democratic side on the budget debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the Nation's students deserve modern schools with world class teachers, but too many students in too many schools in too many communities across the country fail to achieve that standard.

The latest international survey of math and science achievement confirms the urgent need to raise standards of performance for schools, teachers and students alike. It is shameful that America's 12th graders rank among the lowest of the 22 nations participating in this international survey of math and science.

Schools across the Nation face serious problems of overcrowding. Antiquated facilities are suffering from physical decay, and are not equipped to handle the needs of modern education.

Across the country, 14 million children in a third of the Nation's schools are learning in substandard buildings. Half the schools have at least one unsatisfactory environmental condition. It will take over \$100 billion just to repair the existing facilities nationwide.

This chart is a good summation as to what the current conditions are. This year, K-12 enrollment reached an alltime high and will continue to rise over the next 7 years. 6,000 new public schools will be needed by the year 2006 just to maintain current class sizes. We will also need to hire 2 million teachers over the next decade to accommodate rising student enrollments and massive teacher requirements. And because of the overcrowding, schools are using trailers for classrooms and teaching students in former hallways, closets, and bathrooms. Overcrowded classrooms undermine discipline and decrease student morale.

This chart reflects, again, the kind of crisis we are facing for our 52 million American students: 14 million children learn in substandard schools; 7 million children attend schools with asbestos, lead paint, or radon in their ceilings or walls; 12 million children go to school under leaky roofs; a third of America's children study in classrooms without enough outlets and electrical wiring to accommodate computers and multimedia equipment.

The General Accounting Office has determined that it will take in excess

of \$100 billion just to repair existing facilities nationwide. We send a very powerful message to the children in this Nation when they are going to substandard schools. The message is this: The parents, or the older generation, don't give education the priority which it deserves.

Politicians of both parties are out there talking about our responsibility to education and to our children and our future, but we fail to have decent facilities with enough classrooms and well-trained teachers and fail to care for children both before they get into school and in the after school hours. Putting children first—when we fail to do that, we send a very powerful message to children that it really doesn't make an awful lot of difference how they perform in school and whether they conform to various rules and regulations. We send a message to children every single day that they go to dilapidated schools or overcrowded schools that education for the children of this country is not our first priority.

We have to ask ourselves as we begin the budget debate, How does this budget reflect our Nation's priorities? This budget, which we are beginning a debate on today and will continue to debate through the course of next week, how is that really going to reflect our Nation's priorities? What are we prepared to do to try to work with States and local communities to improve the schools in our country?

Just throwing money at a problem is not the answer; we have all learned that. But I tell you that the amount of resources you allocate to a particular purpose or policy is a pretty clear reflection about what kind of priority the Nation is going to place on it.

If we are not going to provide the resources that are necessary to reduce class size and enhance educational achievement, if we are not going to try to address the problems of dilapidated and decaying schools, not only in urban areas but in rural areas, if we are not prepared to help recruit additional schoolteachers who are well trained and certified to teach the courses which they are instructing, if we are not going to help provide education opportunity zones to assist communities that are trying to innovate and be imaginative and work with teachers and parents to enhance academic achievement-all of which have been proposed by the President-if we are not going to say we care sufficiently about children when they leave school in the afternoon, the 5 million children that go home to empty houses every single day, we don't care about them—if we don't care enough about children before they go to school in Head Start programs, if we are not prepared to invest in children, then we are sending a very powerful message.

Those speeches that Members are

Those speeches that Members are making in here are empty. We are challenging our Republican leadership and Republican colleagues to invest in children, reject what the Budget Commit-

tee has done in turning its back on children—and I say "turning their back on children." We will get into the particular details of the budget resolution later.

incredibly, the Republican Now. budget proposal ignores the pressing needs that I have outlined here. The Republican plan cuts funding for education. It refuses to provide key new investments to improve public education. If that anti-education plan is passed, schools and students will get even less help next year than they are getting this year. Let me repeat that: If this budget that is before the Senate now is not altered and changed, then the help and assistance for public schools will be less next year than it was this year. That is the end result, because even if the Appropriations Committee increases funding later on during the course of this Congress, it will violate the budget resolution.

This budget resolution is the time to debate the allocations of resources to enhance the public schools in this country. Under the resolution that is before the Senate this afternoon, there is a real cut, a real cut in support for public education. That is what I find so incredibly offensive in terms of the budget proposal that is before the Senate. The Republican anti-education budget cuts discretionary spending by \$1.6 billion below the President's budget. It cuts funding for education and Head Start programs by \$1 billion below the level needed to maintain current services.

The Head Start Program had bipartisan support. We have expanded Head Start programs for Early Start on the basis of the Carnegie Commission Report and the wide range of different testimony that has been before our Education Committees: The earlier the kind of contact, as the child's brain is developing, and building confidence and helping and assisting that child through a nurturing experience and expanding their horizons, has a very, very important impact in the ability of that child to expand their academic achievement in the growing years of education. That has been proven. We saw a small allocation—about 4 percent—in the early education programs in the Head Start Program, and it has been successful. We have been trying to expand it. But all of those resources are being cut back in the Republican budget proposal that is out here before the Senate.

As I said, it cuts the Head Start Program. The Republican anti-education budget denies 3.7 million students the opportunity to benefit from smaller class size. It denies 900,000 disadvantaged students the extra help they need to improve their reading and math skills. It denies 400,000 students the opportunity to attend after-school programs, those programs which are so essential.

We know that the best teacher that any child has is the parent—the parent; second, it is the schoolteacher. But we

also know what children do before they come to school in the morning is important, and we know what happens to children in the afternoon is very important. We won't take the time to elaborate on the after-school programs and what it means in terms of helping and assisting a child, working with that child, to help them with their homework, help them with auxiliary programs as I have seen out in Dorchester, MA, just 3 weeks ago in an excellent program. I saw the liveliness of those children in the after-school pro-

You would think a child, after going through a full day of education, would be pretty tired, but the light in those children's eyes as they are involved in doing their homework and involved in artwork, involved in photography, and even in cooking so that they would be of help and assistance in the home—the idea of helping those children get their homework done in the afternoon with help and assistance, so when their parents are at home at nighttime after a full day of work, they can enjoy some common time together and the parents are not going to the child saying, "You better go off and do your homework.'

These are pretty commonsense recommendations, after school programs. I won't take the time, at least now, to go through the excellent presentations of Paul Evans, our police commissioner in Boston, who talks about the importance of after-school programs in order to reduce crime and violence in a community—eloquent, eloquent testimony. I daresay that we have had a better record in Boston in reducing youth homicide than any city in the country. We went over 2 years without a single youth homicide—over 2 years without a single youth homicide.

If you had Paul Evans here on the floor of the U.S. Senate this afternoon, he would say there are three elements. You need to have a tough kind of action in dealing with the violent youth that are involved in gangs, you have to have an effective program to police the proliferation of weapons, and you have to have an effective after-school program. How many times I have listened to his eloquence. Those three elements

are the key.

But an after-school program is key if we are serious in terms of trying to do something about violence in our society, and that case is so powerful. The President has an after-school program. It has been a modest program for the last year. It has been tried and tested. It recognizes that the increase in crime among juveniles rises about 60 percent between the hours of 3 and 4 every single day, just when kids get out. And 70 percent of the illegitimate births among teenagers are caused during the time of between 3 and 6 in the afternoon. It is a key time, Mr. President, when too many of our young people are cast loose out into society, or just into their own homes with a television set, or if they are older, to a street corner. This is an important ingredient in terms of the education component.

Now the President requested that program, and it is effectively zeroed out in the Republican program. So you are going to deny some 400,000 students the opportunity to attend after-school

programs.

The Republican budget denies 6,500 middle schools, serving 5 million students, extra help to ensure that they are safe and drug free. It denies 1 million students in failing schools the opportunity to benefit from innovative reforms. It denies 3.9 million needy college students an increase in their Pell grants.

The President requested a very modest increase in Pell grants, which would have a significant impact on students such as those who attend UMASS-Boston. Their tuition may be up now to \$1,350 a year. Eighty-five percent of those kids' parents never went to college. Eighty-five percent of them are working 25 hours a week or more. When the tuition is up \$100 at UMASS-Boston, they see a 10 percent decline in admissions requests. That \$100 makes a difference to those kids. That \$100 is a life-and-death thing to those kids. And the President had recommended some \$300 on it. The way it works out, in terms of the formula, it would be a little over \$100 per kid in the Pell grant program that was lost dramatically in purchasing power over the past years. That is eliminated, Mr. President.

All of these are paid for in the President's program. These aren't add-ons to the budget. They are all paid for under the President's program that moves us to a balanced budget. But no, no, we have to cut those programs investing in kids and provide a \$30 billion tax cut for wealthy individuals. Take that money that is going to after school, take that money away from Pell grants, take that money away from children for math and science, take that money away from smaller classrooms and take that money away from strengthening teacher training, and put it where? In a tax break. Now, that is the issue. It is an issue of priorities. It is an issue of priorities. It is who is on whose side? If you want to cut to the meat of it, who is on the side of working families and their kids, and who is on the side of those that need another tax break? It isn't the working families that get a tax break, because the Republicans have opposed any increase in the minimum wage. This isn't even a tax break. These are men and women who are working hard, playing by the rules, and want to provide their kids with food on the table and, after working two jobs, to be able to spend some time with them.

You would think they would at least say that if we are not going to give them a tax break—because they don't benefit from a tax break—at least say let's give them an increase in the minimum wage. No, no, no. That is what we heard last year, but we were eventually able to win it. But we haven't got one single Republican cosponsor of an in-

crease in the minimum wage for this year-not one-when we have seen the most expanding, growing economy, with 320,000 jobs added in the job market last month, and 12,000 in the restaurant industry; they are always complaining about any increase and how it is going to be devastating to the restaurant industry, but they grew 12,000 jobs just last month.

So, Mr. President, these are some of the issues that are in this budget and what we have to address. We must test students early so that we know where they need help in time to make that help effective. We must provide better training for current and new teachers so that they are well prepared to teach to high standards. We must reduce class size to help students obtain the individual attention they need. We must provide after-school programs to make constructive alternatives available to students. We must provide greater resources to modernize and expand the Nation's school buildings to meet the urgent needs of schools for up-to-date facilities.

I hope that during the consideration of the budget resolution next week, we will give education the high priority

that it deserves.

CIGARETTE PRICE INCREASE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I want to take a moment of the Senate's time to talk about another decision and another priority that was made in the Budget Committee in the past 10 days.

The Republican budget would also prohibit using the money raised by a cigarette price increase from being directed to programs that prevent children from starting to smoke and help those who are already addicted to guit smoking. These programs are essential to any effective antismoking effort.

What you have to have, if you are going to be serious about trying to stop the youth from smoking, is a dramatic increase in costs in a short period of time. That is the record. We have examples of it. We can spend some time in going through those various reports. You need to have that. It also has to be accompanied by an counteradvertising campaign. If you only rely on an increase, what happens is the tobacco industry goes out and increases their advertising, and that overwhelms the discouraging aspect of a price increase. That is the record of it. We have seen that, and we will have a chance at another time when we go through the whole debate on tobacco.

So you have to find a corresponding action. What the public health community, who studied this for years, says is that you not only have to have counteradvertising of tobacco, which amounts to \$5 billion a year—you don't expect to match it with \$5 billion a year, but under the Republican proposal it talks about \$125 million that they are prepared to authorize but won't even guarantee. Even the last spring settlement, which was deficient in some important areas, provided for mandatory spending

counteradvertising. But not this Republican budget, not this Republican budget. No. They said, effectively, no, we won't require that moneys that come in as a result of an increase in price—sure there should be some moneys for the Medicare Program, but let me depart for a moment.

The best way to help the Medicare Program is to get kids to stop smoking. The costs of the Medicare Program are \$9 billion a year, approximately. When you stop kids from smoking, you are going to save Medicare billions of dollars. So we allocate, under the Conrad proposal, some resources on Medicare. But we are talking now about the public health measures that have been turned down by the Budget Committee. These public health measures had been included in the first McCain proposal that was offered last fall. He knew they were important. They were included in the Hatch proposal, which also includes these measures, funds to try to deal with the public health aspects of children. They were included in a bipartisan program on Harkin-Chafee. They included that. But not the Budget Committee, not the Budget Committee, well-known protectors of the public health; not the Budget Committee, no, sir.

Zero in terms of counteradvertising; zero in support of local communities for cessation programs to stop kids from smoking in the schools, to try to help local communities, work in local schools, nonprofit agencies, groups that have been working with cessation programs for years, zero for them, no way; zero for studying the problems of addiction to narcotics, and to study the problems with health-related issues that are attached to tobacco, such as lung cancer; effectively zero for any kind of a review, study, or investment in those particular programs; and zero with regard to looking out after farmers who are going to be impacted by this program. I may have my differences on the public policy issue on tobacco, but I am not prepared, like the tobacco industry has done it, to do it on the backs of those tobacco farm-

If you look back over what those tobacco farmers' increase has been over the past 10 years, when you have had record profits by the tobacco industry, it was pittance for those tobacco farmers. The first thing that happens, if the tobacco industry gets in any problem, they rent those big buses and park them on the mall and let them come up here and ask us why we are against those individuals and their families. How many times have we done that, Mr. President? We will have a chance to go on through that.

But the point that we are making, Mr. President, is that these programs are essential to any effective antismoking effort and education on the dangers of tobacco use, counteradvertising, deglamorizing smoking among children, smoke cessation programs, and medical research

to cure tobacco-induced diseases. They should be the first priority for the dollars produced by a cigarette price increase.

All of us agree that Medicare should be protected for future generations. All of us recognize that tobacco imposes a heavy cost exceeding \$9 billion a year on Medicare, and that a share of any tobacco revenues should be used for Medicare.

But one of the best ways to keep Medicare strong for the future is to invest in important public health and tobacco control programs that prevent children from beginning to smoke and help current smokers to quit smoking.

But not this budget. Every public health official that has appeared before Republicans and Democrats alike in the House and in the Senate has said these are essential. But not the Budget Committee. But we will have a chance to address that. That is an important priority. Americans will lead healthier lives, and the burden of tobacco-induced diseases will be greatly reduced.

Obviously, it makes good sense to earmark funds for Medicare and smoking cessation programs, for tobacco counter-advertising campaigns, for tobacco-related research and education programs, and for FDA enforcement of provisions to reduce smoking by children.

Unfortunately, the Republican budget earmarks all of the tobacco revenues for Medicare. It prohibits using even one dollar of the tobacco revenues to deter youth from smoking. That's unacceptable.

Smoking has inflicted great damage on people's health. It makes sense to use tobacco revenues for these important anti-tobacco initiatives too.

These programs work. Every dollar invested in a smoking cessation program for a pregnant woman saves \$6 in costs for neonatal intensive care and long-term care for low birthweight babies.

Listen to this. Every \$1 invested in a smoking cessation program for a pregnant woman saves \$6 in costs for neonatal intensive care and long-term care for low-birthweight babies. But there is nothing in this program for that.

The Republican budget offers no help in cases like this, and that makes no sense

The Republican budget offers no help to states and communities for public health advertising to counteract the \$5 billion a year—\$5 billion—that the tobacco industry pours into advertising to encourage people to start smoking and keep smoking.

The Republican budget offers no help to the Food and Drug Administration to enforce the laws against the sale of tobacco products to minors, even though young people spend \$1 billion a year to buy tobacco products illegally.

You would think that we would want to try to do something about that as well. Talk to any serious official in the public health community, and they will say that we need a multidisciplined approach if we are going to have an impact in reducing tobacco use among young people. We have to do all of these things. But not the Budget Committee. And the Republican budget offers no help for medical research on tobacco-related diseases, even though such research can lead to enormous savings for Medicare. The country supports, I believe, these fundamental, sound public health proposals, and the Senate should as well.

MEDICARE BUY-IN AND THE BUDGET

Finally, Mr. President, I want to mention just two other areas. One is the area of the Medicare buy-in and the budget.

Mr. President, the President has advanced a proposal to permit those near the age of 65 and those 62 years old to be able to buy into Medicare and do it in a fiscally sound way that will not interfere with the financial integrity of Medicare. These individuals in their early sixties are too young for Medicare but too old for affordable private coverage. Many of them face serious health problems that threaten to destroy the savings of a lifetime and prevent them from finding or keeping a job. Many are victims of corporate down-sizing or a company's decision to cancel the health insurance protection they relied on. No American nearing retirement can be confident that the health insurance they have today will protect them until they are 65 and are eligible for Medicare.

Three million Americans aged 55 to 64 have no health insurance today. The consequences are often tragic. As a group, they are in relatively poor health, and their condition is more likely to worsen the longer they remain uninsured. They have little or no savings to protect against the cost of serious illness. Often, they are unable to afford the routine care that can prevent minor health problems from turning into serious disabilities or even life-threatening illness.

The number of uninsured is growing every day. Between 1991 and 1995, the number of workers whose employers promise them benefits if they retire early dropped twelve percent. Barely a third of all workers now have such a promise. In recent years, many who have counted on an employer's commitment found themselves with only a broken promise. Their coverage was canceled after they retired.

The plight of older workers who lose their jobs through layoffs or downsizing is also grim. It is hard to find a new job at age 55 or 60—and even harder to find a job that provides health insurance. For these older Americans left out and left behind through no fault of their own after decades of hard work, it is time to provide a helping hand.

And finally, significant numbers of retired workers and their families have found themselves left high and dry when their employers cut back their coverage or canceled it altogether.

Democrats have already addressed legislation to address these issues—and

the budget must provide for its enactment. The legislation allows uninsured Americans age 62-64 to buy in to Medicare coverage and spread part of the cost throughout their years of eligibility through the regular Medicare program. It allows displaced workers aged 55-62 to buy into Medicare to help them bridge the period until they can find a new job with health insurance or until they qualify for Medicare. It requires companies that drop retirement coverage to allow their retirees to extend their coverage through COBRA until they qualify for Medicare.

This legislation is a lifeline for millions of older Americans. It provides a bridge to help them through the years before they qualify for full Medicare eligibility. It is a constructive next step toward the day when every American will be guaranteed the fundamental right to health care. It will impose no additional burden on Medicare, because it is fully paid for by premiums from the beneficiaries themselves.

In the budget there ought be the opportunity for us to debate this issue, and if judgment is made that we are going to move forward on it to ensure that we are going to have the votes and not be blocked from moving forward on it because of the failure of the Budget Act, to at least consider that possibility.

INVESTMENT IN CHILDREN

Mr. President, everyone knows that investments in children pay off, and focusing the attention of the Nation on a central priority for vast numbers of American parents—the availability and affordability and quality of child care and after-school programs-I believe is essential. There is a shocking lack of child care that meets these three basic tests: Affordability, availability, and quality. It is a dramatic fact of life for millions of families across the Nation. Thirteen million children spend all or part of their day in child care. Five million are left unsupervised after school. Their parents are working parents and deserve to know that their children are not just safe but well cared for.

We must make sure that we take care of our children and have child care development programs. We need to expand the child care development block grant and ensure there is mandatory money to invest in our kids. And we have failed to do so in this budget.

EEOC ENFORCEMENT

Mr. President, this year, Congress must commit greater resources to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Although many of my Republican colleagues want to eliminate all forms of affirmative action that have benefited women and minorities, shouldn't everyone—Republicans and Democrats alike—support strong enforcement of our civil rights laws? To do otherwise undermines the promise of equal justice and equal opportunity for all.

The EEOC is the only government agency solely devoted to enforcing our

great civil rights laws—the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, and the Equal Pay Act. But, while the agency has received greater enforcement responsibilities, including the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and the Civil Rights Act of 1991—its congressionally appropriated resources have decreased.

The Republican leadership must support its anti-discrimination rhetoric and support the work of this agency. The EEOC needs the tools necessary to quickly investigate charges of discrimination against individuals, as well as patterns of discrimination found in the workplace. I hope my Republican colleagues agree with the sentiment of our former majority leader, Bob Dole. Senator Dole said,

[W]e must conscientiously enforce our antidiscrimination laws. Those who violate the law ought to be punished, and those who are the victims of discrimination must be made whole. Unfortunately, our nation's top civil-rights law enforcer, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, is burdened with an unacceptably high . . . case backlog. We must give the EEOC the tools it needs to do its job properly.

The budget must include President Clinton's request for \$270 million for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It is the right thing to do for our country.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MURKOWSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr GRAMS). The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, am I correct that we are in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is currently considering the concurrent Senate budget resolution.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak in morning business for not more than 7 or 8 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, first let me say in response to the recent statement by my good friend from Massachusetts about the degree of compassion associated with the Republican Members of the Senate that I disagree. I am sure that the Budget Committee and its able chairman, Senator DOMENICI, will respond in detail to the generalizations that have been expressed by my friend from Massachusetts. But let me just make one specific point.

We have heard that the Republicans and the Republican budget do not invest enough in education; that they have not adopted the two key plans of the President's budget: \$5 billion for school construction, and \$7.3 billion to hire 100,000 more teachers over the next 5 years.

The facts show that, indeed, the Republicans have kept their word. We have increased education spending by exactly what the President and the Congress agreed to do last year in the

balanced budget agreement. We have provided \$8 billion in additional discretionary education funding over the 5-year period, and in total we will provide close to \$20 billion in kindergarten-through-grade 12 education funding this year. That is a 98-percent increase over the last 10 years.

I would not take criticism relative to the Republicans' commitment to education. It supports exactly what the President has asked for. Again, that is \$20 billion for kindergarten through grade 12 education funding and a 98percent increase over the last 10 years.

I am sure others on the Budget Committee will address other generalizations in more detail.

WARD VALLEY TRESPASSERS

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, my purpose in seeking time this morning is to communicate to the other Members of a grievous trespass occurring on public lands, a trespass that would certainly not be allowed in the State of Minnesota or in my State of Alaska.

Today we have a significant standoff in the southern California desert between the Federal Government and trespassers at the Ward Valley site. For several years, the State of California and Governor Wilson have sought to purchase from the Federal Government the 1,000-acre Ward Valley site in southern California out in the Mojave Desert, a pretty inhospitable area. Large transmission lines go over the property. You can hear the buzz of the electrical energy going through those wires. And it has been determined to be a suitable site for low-level waste. California wants to build a low-level waste disposal facility on this Federal property which is located in a federally designated utility corridor, as I have indicated, with the power lines going over it. It is close to an interstate highway. The State of California has proposed to purchase this land from the Department of the Interior. It is appropriate to reflect that this waste has to go somewhere. Nobody wants waste, either high- or low-level, but we have to acknowledge the merits of the technologies that produce the waste. They improve our health. Because most of this waste is biotech, used for the treatment of cancer and other medical uses, x ray and radiological type of medical treatments that we all receive. It lengthens our lives and eases our misery.

Currently this waste is located at just the State of California, over 800 temporary sites throughout the State. Many of these locations are in urban areas, near universities, communities, clinics.

It has been determined that Ward Valley would be an appropriate disposal facility. The State of California, as well as other States, has been given the authority under certain terms and conditions to basically provide long-term waste storage, assuming that the Federal and State criteria are met. In